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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 26848

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CB, CH

SUBJECT: KHIEU SAMPHAN ARTICLE IN "LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE"

REF: PHNOM PENH 15113

BEGIN SUMMARY: LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, MONTHLY FOREIGN AFFAIRS PERIODICAL ASSOCIATED WITH PROMINENT PARIS DAILY, LE MONDE, PUBLISHED IN NOVEMBER ISSUE A LONG ARTICLE BEGINNING ON THE FIRST PAGE PRESENTING THE COMMUNIST POSITION ON THE CAMBODIAN PROBLEM. THE ARTICLE, SIGNED BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, KHIEU SAMPHAN, PRESENTS WELL KNOWN COMMUNIST POSITIONS CONCERNING THE HISTORY BEHIND THE CURRENT CONFLICT, THE CURRENT "PREDOMINANT" POSITION OF THE GRUNK, THE UNREPRESENTATIVE NATURE OF THE "PHNOM PENH TRAITORS" SUSTAINED SOLELY BY U.S. ASSISTANCE, AND THE "INEVITABLY VICTORY" OF THE GRUNK. QUAI OFFICIALS SHARE OUR VIEW THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE ARTICLE IS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE STRUGGLE OVER KHMER CREDENTIALS IN THE UNGA AND THAT IT GIVES NO INDICATION OF ANY "SOFTENING OF THE GRUNK LINE" AGAINST A COMPROMISE SOLUTION. END SUMMARY

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1. REFTEL ARRIVED DURING PREPARATION OF EMBTEL CONCERN-
ING ARTICLE ON CAMBODIA BY KHIEU SAMPHAN IN PRESTIGIOUS
"LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE" MONTHLY PUBLICATION UNDER
GENERAL SUPERVISION OF PARIS DAILY LE MONDE, DEVOTED TO
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. ARTICLE WAS CARRIED ON FIRST
AND 8TH PAGES OF PERIODICAL. INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH
IDENTIFIED KHIEU SAMPHAN ONLY AS DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
-- AVOIDING ANY REFERENCE TO HIS ROLE WITHIN KHMER
COMMUNIST PARTY -- AND EXPRESSING BASIC ACCEPTANCE OF
GRUNK PRETENTIONS AS PRESENTED IN ARTICLE. EVEN TITLE,
"FOR A TRUE PEACE IN CAMBODIA -- OBTAINING THE END OF
ALL AMERICAN INTERVENTION" SHOWS BASIC BIAS OF THE
PERIODICAL, WHOSE EDITOR IN CHIEF, CLAUDE JULIEN, HAS
WRITTEN A BOOK ON "AMERICAN IMPERIALISM". INTRODUCTORY
NOTE DRAWS SPECIFIC ATTENTION TO THE TIMELINESS OF SUCH
AN ARTICLE BY REFERRING TO THE DECISION WHICH THE UNGA
WILL MAKE WITHIN A FEW DAYS CONCERNING CAMBODIAN REPRESENTATION. FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS AND ROUGH TRANSLATIONS OF MAJOR POINTS IN ARTICLE.

2. THE ARTICLE BEGINS WITH THE TRADITIONAL
COMMUNIST REINTERPRETATION OF HISTORY BY CITING THE
"CIA MILITARY COUP" IN 1970 FOLLOWED BY "DIRECT
AMERICAN AGGRESSION" ON 30 APRIL 1970. THE SUCCESSES
OF THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE STRUGGLE IN THE PAST 4 YEARS
AND U.S. REVERSES CONFIRM THE "IRREVERSIBLE REVOLUTION"
OF THE WAR TOWARD TOTAL VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF
KAMPUCHEA. ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE, A SIMPLE GLANCE
AT THE MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MAP (ILLUSTRATED)
SHOWS THE VAST LIBERATED ZONE AND SMALL ENCLAVES
CONTROL BY THE "PHNOM PENH TRAITORS", AND THE STRONG
POSITION OF THE FAPLNC. THE TREACHERY OF A SMALL
HANDFUL OF "ANTI-NATIONAL FACISTS" DIRECTED BY THE BATON
OF THE "AMERICAN AMBASSADOR A TRUE PRO-CONSUL IN PHNOM
PENH", RESULTS IN THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE WITH TORTURE,
ASSASSINATION, CORRUPTION ETC., IN THE PHNOM PENH ZONES.
VARIOUS MANIFESTATIONS IN PHNOM PENH ARE CITED TO SHOW
THE OPPOSITION TO THE GKR EVEN OF PERSONS UNDER NOMINAL
GKR CONTROL SO THAT THE GRUNK HAS THE SUPPORT OF 99.5
OF THE KHMER POPULATION EVEN THOUGH THE 90 OF THE
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TERRITORY GRUNK CONTROLS INCLUDES ONLY 5.5 MILLION OF
THE KHMER POPULATION.

3. THE FUNK IS REPORTED AS REPRESENTING THE WILL OF
THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA. THE GRUNK WITH
PENN NOUTH AS PRIME MINISTER AND OF WHICH THE MEMBERS
ARE "PURE PATRIOTS" DIRECTS ON-THE-SPOT THE AF/AIRS OF
STATE. RAPID REFORMS ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN IN THE

LIBERATED ZONE. FUNK, GRUNK, AND FAPLNK ARE STRENGTHEN-
ING THEMSELVES FROM DAY TO DAY THROUGH THE PATRIOTIC
STRUGGLE, INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN WITHOUT DEPENDENCE
ON OR SUBORDINATION TO FOREIGNERS. THE FUNDAMENTAL
FACTOR OF THE VICTORIES WON BY THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA

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IS INCONTESTABLY THE UNION WITHIN THE FUNK OF WHICH THE
CHAIRMAN IS SIHANOUK, CHIEF OF STATE. FUNK MOBILIZES
ALL THE PATRIOTIC FORCES OF THE NATION WITHOUT DISTINC-
TION OF CLASS OR SOCIAL LEVEL WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION
BASED ON POLITICAL TENDENCIES OR IDEOLOGIES, RELIGION
OR BELIEF. IN THE COMBAT FOR SURVIVAL THE PEOPLE OF
KAMPUCHEA HAVE DRAWN A CLEAR AND DEFINITIVE LINE
BETWEEN PATRIOTS AND TRAITORS AGGRESSED AND AGGRESSORS,
JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE. THEREFORE FUNK HAS PROSECUTED
ONLY A HANDFUL OF TRAITORS WHO HAVE COMMITTED THE MOST
ABOMINABLE CRIMES IN THE HISTORY OF CAMBODIA. AS FOR
FOREIGNERS WHO LIVE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS AND
CUSTOMS OF THE COUNTRY, THEIR RIGHTS AND INTERESTS ARE

RESPECTED AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION IS ENCOURAGED.

4. THE FUNK ENJOY CONSIDERABLE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT ALSO. THE FUNK INTENDS TO REMAIN CONSTANTLY FAITHFUL TO THE POLICY OF INDEPENDENCE, PEACE, NEUTRALITY AND NON-ALIGNMENT. IN SUPPORT OF THE OTHER NON-ALIGNED, THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FUNK IS ALWAYS ON THE SIDE OF THE OPPRESSED AND THE AGGRESSED AND RESOLUTELY AGAINST THE OPPRESSORS AND AGGRESSORS, THE OLD AND NEW COLONIALISTS, IMPERIALISTS, RACISTS AND ZIONISTS. THE ARTICLE POINTED TO THE FAVORABLE RECEPTION SIHANOUK HAD RECEIVED IN THE ALGIERS NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE. THE FUNK WAS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH NEW COUNTRIES OF THE 5 CONTINENTS, NEAR OR FAR OF THE EAST OR OF THE WEST WITHOUT ANY DISTINCTION ABOUT POLITICAL OR IDEOLOGICAL REGIME ON THE CONDITION THAT THESE COUNTRIES RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY, THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF KAMPUCHEA. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF FUNK WILL ALWAYS BE BASED ON THE 5 PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, MUTUAL RESPECT AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, ETC.

5. THE U.S. HAS CONTINUED TO INJECT EACH DAY MORE THAN U.S. 2 MILLION DOLLARS OF WAR MATERIAL ETC. TO MAINTAIN THE LIFE OF THE MORIBUND TRAITORS. MORE THAN 4,000 U.S. MILITARY ADVISORS COMMAND DIRECTLY ON THE BATTLEFIELD. U.S. PLANES BASED IN THAILAND PROVIDE TRANSPORT AND PARACHUTING OF ARMS, MUNITIONS AND RATIONS. U.S. SHIPS BRING TENS OF THOUSANDS OF TONS OF WAR MATERIAL UP THE MEKONG TO PHNOM PENH EACH MONTH. WITHOUT THIS AID, THE PHNOM PENH TRAITORS WOULD ALREADY HAVE BEEN SWEEPED OUT OF CAMBODIA. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN CAMBODIA FALLS ON THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION. "NO POLITICAL OR DIPLOMATIC MANEUVER CAN HIDE THIS REALITY AND IN PARTICULAR MAKE ANY ONE BELIEVE IN THE EXISTENCE OF A CIVIL WAR IN KAMPUCHEA." "IF THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION WERE TO CEASE ITS INTERVENTION IN KAMPUCHEA, CEASE ALL AID TO THE PHNOM PENH TRAITORS, WITHDRAW FROM KAMPUCHEA ALL ITS MILITARY ADVISORS AND REFRAIN FROM ANY OTHER DIRECT OR INDIRECT INTERVENTION, THE PROBLEM OF KAMPUCHEA WILL BE RAPIDLY RESOLVED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES WITHOUT ANY FOREIGN INTERVENTION. THE FATE OF THE PHNOM PENH TRAITORS IS A MATTER WHICH DEPENDS STRICTLY ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA."

6. ALL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FAVORING PEACE AND

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JUSTICE IN THE WORLD INCLUDING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDER-
STAND THIS SOLUTION PERFECTLY AND CONDEMN U.S.
IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION AND THE PHNOM PENH TRAITORS.
SOME 62 COUNTRIES HAVE ALREADY RECOGNIZED THE GRUNK
AND SEVERAL DOZENS OF OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE SHOWN THEIR
SYMPATHY AND THEIR ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE JUST CAUSE OF
NATIONAL LIBERATION FOR WHICH THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA
ARE STRUGGLING. "THE FUNK WILL NEVER FORGET THE
SOLIDARITY AND ARE PERSUADED THAT THEIR CONNECTION WITH
OTHER COUNTRIES WILL BE STRENGTHENED
TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO PURSUE WITH GREATER ARDOR THEIR
COMBAT UNTIL THE DAY WHEN A TRUE AND LASTING PEACE OF
TOTAL INDEPENDENCE AND WITH HONOR WILL BE ESTABLISHED
FOREVER ON THE ENTIRETY OF THE SACRED TERRITORY OF OUR
BELOVED KAMPUCHEA. THIS PEACE WILL BE THE CONSECRATION
OF THE TOTAL VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA,
FAPLNK, FUNK AND GRUNK AND THEIR JUST STRUGGLE FOR THE
FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL RIGHTS OF KAMPUCHEA. IT WILL
EQUALLY BE A DETERMINING FACTOR IN PEACE IN SOUTH EAST
ASIA AND THE WORLD."

7. COMMENT: QUAI OBSERVERS REMARKED,
NOVEMBER 8, AND WE AGREED, THAT THE ARTICLE REPRESENTS

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NO CHANGE IN BASIC GRUNK POLICY. QUAI BELIEVES ARTICLE WAS DESIGNED TO ASSIST GRUNK IN THE CURRENT PRINCIPAL BATTLE, THE STRUGGLE FOR KHMER CREDENTIALS AT THE UNGA. THEY NOTED THAT ATTRIBUTING THE ARTICLE TO KHIEU SAMPHAN SERVED NOT ONLY TO MAKE KHIEU SAMPHAN'S NAME BETTER KNOWN INTERNATIONALLY, BUT ALSO UNDERLINED THE "NON-EXILE" NATURE OF THE GRUNK. ONE MIGHT ALSO ADD THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO FIND ANYONE ACQUAINTED WITH THE FAR EAST WHO COULD BELIEVE THAT SIHANOUK WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR, OR EVEN APPROVED, SUCH STALE BOILER PLATE IN WHAT IS OBVIOUSLY A COMMITTEE-PREPARED "PARTY DOCUMENT."

8. THE INTENT IS NO DOUBT TO BRING BEFORE A SYMPATHETIC FRENCH AND FRANCOPHONE PUBLIC, A NEW STATEMENT OF THE GRUNK POLICY AT A TIME WHEN VOTES IN THE UNGA ARE IMPORTANT. SOME OF THE EFFECT WILL BE LOST ON A SOPHISTICATED FRENCH AUDIENCE BECAUSE IT IS PATENT THAT THE STYLE IS OF COMMUNIST ORIGIN.

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9. ALTHOUGH SIHANOUK IS MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES AND EVEN PENN NOUTH IS IDENTIFIED AS PRIME MINISTER, THE EMPHASIS IS UPON THE TWO FORCES, THE "GOODIES AND BADDIES". IT IS PERHAPS SOMEWHAT REMARKABLE THAT LON NOL'S NAME IS NOT EVEN MENTIONED ONCE: THIS ARTICLE GIVES LITTLE ROOM FOR OPTIMISM TO THOSE WHO HOPE THAT CHANGES PERMANENT OR TEMPORARY IN THE TOP LEADERSHIP IN PHNOM PENH WILL PROVOKE A DIALOGUE.

10. WE AND QUAI OFFICERS CONCERNED THEREFORE SEE NO GROUNDS FOR CONSIDERING THAT THE ARTICLE GIVES ANY ENCOURAGEMENT CONCERNING POSSIBLE NEGOTIATIONS. AS THEY HAVE REMARKED BEFORE, QUAI OFFICIALS SEE NO LIKELIHOOD OF ANY GRUNK INTEREST IN NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL AFTER UNGA STRUGGLE IS SETTLED ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.

11. IT IS DISCONCERTING THAT A RESPECTABLE FOREIGN

POLICY PERIODICAL HAS EXPRESSED, IF ONLY BRIEFLY, FULL CREDENCE IN THE COMMUNIST INTERPRETATION OF REALITY AND SUPPORT FOR GRUNK POLICIES. KHMER HERE HAVE SUGGESTED WRITING A "REFUTATION". AFTER THOROUGH STUDY OF THE ARTICLE, THE GKR MIGHT BE WELL ADVISED TO PREPARE AN ARTICLE OF ITS OWN -- BASED ON MATERIALS WORKED UP AT UNGA AND UNESCO -- FOR SUBMISSION FOR DAILY "LE MONDE" OR DECEMBER ISSUE OF THIS POLITICAL MONTHLY. SUCH AN ARTICLE WOULD PROBABLY BE TOO LATE TO BE OF IMPORTANCE IN UNGA DEBATE, HOWEVER.

12. TEXT OF FULL ARTICLE IS BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT AND PHNOM PENH. IF PHNOM PENH WISHES TELEGRAPHICALLY MORE FULL TRANSLATION OF CERTAIN PASSAGES, PLEASE INFORM.
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